7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

of the Winterers and the Mtawli as groups. The Winteres are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 154–55). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mtawli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mtawli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mtawli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munṣif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of *itinerants:* (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawaar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

3.23 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 7

592 162 Fifty-nine percent of the grandchildren of the heads of households are male. This figure is not significantly different from that of the children of the head of the household.

3.24 Siblings of head of household, Table 8

Females predominate slightly in the sample, although the difference is not statistically significant.

3.25 Other family members in household, Table 9

There is a significant difference in the sex ratio of other family members in the household which probably reflects the dependence of unattached females. At any rate, sixty-seven percent of this miscellaneous group are female.

3.26 Servants of household, Table 10

357 592 Servants in Beirut households are overwhelmingly female, constituting as they do about ninety-three percent of the sample of servants.

The incidence of servants living-in is high. Twenty-two percent of the families had at least one servant living with them. The only specialist category which is substantial is that of nurses. Generally, the maid cooks, cleans, and washes.

Age at Marriage of Members of Household

3.31 Male head of household, Table 11

592 100 The marital status of the male heads of household shows that only eight percent had not married. The modal interval for age at last

ter life span of females. About thirty-two percent married at the age of twenty or under.

3.35 Mother of head of household, Table 15

The same sex difference as with the head of the household and his spouse in age at marriage occurs. Over seventy-two percent of the mothers of heads of households were married by the age of twenty.

3.36 Father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 16, 17

There were many less fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of heads of household in residence than of fathers and mothers. The presumption is that parents go with their male children, if possible. Other values are not significant, but are shown for completeness.

3.37 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 18

A total of two hundred and twelve grandchildren were tabulated in the sample in ninety-one families; or roughly one in twenty households had grandchildren living with them. Ninety-one families had at least one child living with them, while two families had as many as eight. Of these, only one is married.

3.38 Siblings of head of household, Table 19

A tendency towards extended family living is seen in the incidence of siblings living with the head of the household. There were three hundred and fifty-eight siblings living with one hundred and ninety-four families in ten percent of the sample. Over eighty-six percent were unmarried.

3.39 Other family members in household, Table 20

There were two hundred and eighty-eight miscellaneous family members living in the sample households, or in about fifteen percent. The most significant figure, again, is that fifty-five percent are unmarried.

3.39.1 Servants of household, Table 21

The great majority of servants are un-

357 married (88 %). Many of these continue as servants until marriage and are then replaced by younger unmarried girls.

Age Distribution

3.41 Population pyramid, Chart 1

162 The population pyramid as indicated in the sample seems to show a fairly normal distribution of ages with the exception of a bulge in the female group between sixteen and twenty. The lowest level bracket (0-5) covers a span of six years. This was done deliberately to compensate for the fact that the 1952 interviews covered the period between August and December, while the 1953 interviews were only from January to July. Therefore, the youngest age group was collected in parts of two calendar years, but covers only one full year.

3.42 Male head of household and wife of household head or female head of household, Table 22

The average age of male heads of households is forty-five. This is to be compared to the average of their wives and female heads of households which is almost thirty-nine. Interestingly enough, the modal age for both sexes falls in the same interval of 36-40. However, there is a decided tendency to marry younger among the women. By the time they reach the modal age only forty percent of the males as compared to fifty-eight percent of the females are married.

3.43 Birthdate by post-mandate, mandate or pre-mandate years.

128* Birthdates of household members were tabulated in three groups, those who were born after the mandate, those born during the mandate, and those born before. The purpose of this tabulation is to indicate to what extent household members were exposed to mandate rule with all that that implies in cultural conditioning.

3.44 Male head of household, Table 23

162 Of the male heads of household, about

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